Good Reading for Republicans—*Wayne Morse*

THE *Nation*

July 5, 19

The Men Behind the Money

JUL 7 1952
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BY BARROW LYONS

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Letters to the Editors

Justice Douglas's HQ

Dear Sirs: The New York Committee to Draft Justice William O. Douglas for President has set up an office at 856 Second Avenue (telephone: MUrray Hill 4-9807). Its chairman is Bernard Sorkin, formerly of the Independent Voters for Douglas. The immediate aim of the committee is to supply information to any group interested in obtaining the Democratic nomination for Justice Douglas.

Time is exceedingly short, and many people will have to be reached and familiarized with the principles for which Justice Douglas stands if a real boom is to be started for him at the convention. Unfortunately the committee cannot do its work effectively without more funds. It hopes that all *Nation* readers who support Justice Douglas will respond generously.

KATHARINE B. FAULKNER,
New York Secretary

Academic Freedom at Minnesota

Dear Sirs: In your issue of March 22 you printed an article on the removal of Forrest O. Wiggins from the faculty of the University of Minnesota. The author, Dick Bruner, broadly hinted that Mr. Wiggins was discharged because of his political beliefs. However, in presenting the facts, Mr. Bruner neglected to mention the study made by a committee of the American Association of University Professors which delved into the Wiggins case in some detail. The following excerpts are taken directly from the conclusions set forth in the last half of the A. A. U. P.'s Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure report:

6. While we do not purport to sit as a board independently to review the question of Dr. Wiggins's scholarship, we have read this address ["The Ideology of Interest," in which Dr. Wiggins blamed the Korean war on "capitalists and militarists" in the United States]. . . . We believe that perhaps undue emphasis was placed upon it by Dean McDiarmid. Nevertheless, we reach the conclusion that there is no reason to doubt that Dean McDiarmid's conclusion as to the lack of scholarship evidenced by it was reached in good faith.

7. The exercise of administrative discretion not to reappoint Dr. Wiggins was, in part, based upon an appraisal of his scholarship record which took into account the fact that since coming to Minnesota he has written for publication only two articles and that these have been administratively considered to lack good qualities of scholarship. . . . Under the circumstances, we cannot say that administrative consideration of this factor of productive scholarship indicates in any way violation of academic freedom. . . .

8. . . . We have no hesitancy in concluding that the department's failure to formulate such a judgment [on Dr. Wiggins] at any time during the course of five years was an administrative shortcoming, to say the least. . . . But the failures of the department and dean in these respects, if they were failures, were failures of administrative practice, and do not show a violation of academic freedom. . . .

9. While the fact of divergency of viewpoint between a department and the higher levels of administration at a university in regard to retention of a probationary appointee of known views, considered by many to be radical, may naturally arouse suspicion of violation of academic freedom, in this connection it is important to an accurate appraisal that the following things should be remembered:

(a) While the Department of Philosophy is presently unanimous in recommending the retention of Dr. Wiggins for at least one more year, it is not presently unanimous in respect of his permanent retention.

(b) Even assuming unanimity of viewpoint in the department on the question of permanent retention, difference in viewpoint between a department, the dean, and the president, and ultimately the Board of Regents, would not necessarily indicate any deviation from justifiable administrative discretion, or violation of academic freedom. Each of these levels of government of the university justifiably may have quite a different approach to the problem. . . . We think it was entirely appropriate for Dean McDiarmid to consult with persons outside the Department of Philosophy.

10. Dean McDiarmid, in making the study and recommendation, so far as we can determine, was not subjected to any pressure of any kind from any person off campus. Dr. Conger himself stated to this committee that he has no reason to doubt that the recommendation of Dean McDiarmid was made in good faith.

11. There is no evidence whatsoever that the administration of this university, or anyone connected with the university who had anything to do with this matter, was motivated in any degree not to reappoint Dr. Wiggins by considerations of racial prejudice. In fact, we are convinced that the administration would welcome competent Negro scholars on the faculty, and that it was a cause of deep regret that this termination affects a Negro.

12. There is no doubt that the ideological and international climates of the day make adherence to academic freedom difficult. It is easy to understand how, because of such climate, many persons jump to the conclusion of violation of academic freedom when a Negro with so-called radical views is not retained. On the basis of all the evidence available to us, however, we are unable to conclude that the failure to reappoint Dr. Wiggins for the 1952-53 academic year was influenced by this climate of the day. We find nothing in the records of either President Morrill or Dean McDiarmid to justify a presumption that they gave in to improper pressure or in any other way failed to act in good faith.

In conclusion, we express regret that public discussion of the issues in Dr. Wiggins's case has made necessary this recital of the evidence reflecting upon Dr. Wiggins, contrary to the express intent of the university rules of tenure. . . . [Section 9] further provides that "for this reason it shall not be necessary for the dean or chairman to provide any person in these categories (instructors and assistant professors not yet on tenure) who is not reappointed with any statement of causes or reasons for his action."

Recommendation: It is recommended that no further action be taken at this time for the reason that the evidence does not establish violation of academic freedom.

Minneapolis CHARLES R. WHITE

Pleased Reader

Dear Sirs: William J. Fielding should be congratulated for his excellent article on E. Haldeman-Julius, which appeared in your May 10 issue, and *The Nation* highly commended for publishing it.

Brooklyn JACK BENJAMIN

CORRECTION: In the article entitled The Mutual Fund Rainbow, which appeared in *The Nation* of June 14, one sentence read, "The Lehman stock bought at $104 in 1929 would be worth around 140 today." It should have read, "The Lehman stock bought at $104 in 1929 would be worth around $240 today."—EDITORS THE NATION

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Will Europe Save America?

Secretary Acheson's voyage to Europe was in itself an indication that things on the international scene are getting more and more complicated. The bombing raids in North Korea had set off explosions of protest from London to New Delhi. But perhaps more serious in the long run was the anxiety of the West European Chancelleries concerning Germany. The French government in particular felt that another real effort ought to be made to bring about a Big Four conference, considered more urgent than ever in view of a possible sudden aggravation of the situation in Berlin. The Quai d'Orsay has learned with apprehension that the National Security Council, at a special meeting in Washington just before Acheson's departure, agreed on strong measures, even at the risk of general war, to counter any attempt Russia might make to force the Western allies out of Berlin by means of a new blockade. During a press conference on Sunday in Berlin, Secretary Acheson emphasized the West's determination to remain in Berlin at any price.

Meanwhile in Washington the Senate is approaching one of the most fateful decisions in history with the casual air it might adopt toward a ceremonial resolution approving Mother's Day. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for instance, approved the contractual agreements with Germany after a *pro forma* discussion lasting only a couple of hours. In the end it may be that the recalcitrant parliaments and peoples of Europe and West Germany, who see the problem in its true dimensions, will save us in spite of ourselves.

Consumers Be Damned!

The cynical contempt for the public welfare shown by the Senate Commerce Committee in pigeonholing, by a nine-to-four vote, President Truman's nomination of Thomas Buchanan for a second term on the Federal Power Commission received little notice in the press. Buchanan was the one strong consumers' member remaining on the commission, the one member who dissented from the Phillips Petroleum decision of 1951, in which the departed Mon C. Wallgren helped nullify the President's veto of the Kerr bill and relieved the so-called "independent" gas companies from FPC rate regulation.

The anti-consumer bloc in the Senate was not forced to show its hand against Buchanan. The Senate Commerce Committee pole-axed the nomination under conditions which prohibited the minority from filing a dissent and thus forcing a roll-call vote of the entire Senate. Among the Senators voting to knife Buchanan by stealth was President Truman's own Democratic Senate floor leader—McFarland of Arizona.

Mr. Truman can and should give Buchanan a recess appointment pending the election of a new Congress. But the attitude of the present Senate is clear: let any member of a quasi-judicial agency show that he is interested in protecting consumers against price gouges, and he is a dead duck when he comes up for confirmation for another term.

House Arrest à la Acheson

President Truman has asked for and received a full report on the State Department's extraordinary order barring Owen Lattimore from leaving the country. It should make interesting week-end reading for him. Once aware of its blunder, the State Department held a day-long "planning" session and then issued a blustering statement to the effect that such orders are never—well, hardly ever—based on "fantasies or inanities"; in this case the information came from "an official source." But the official source—Central Intelligence—immediately countered with the hedge that the report was based on "raw and unevaluated data," and the next day the Department of Justice conceded that the tip was false. In a frenzied effort to get off the hook, Washington officials have secured the indictment of the Seattle tipster and a formal apology has been offered Mr. Lattimore.

But the State Department has not the slightest intention of changing its bizarre passport policies. The Lattimore incident indicates that more and more emphasis will be placed on administrative techniques in the "anti-subversion" campaign. In effect Mr. Lattimore was placed under "house arrest." Only a short time back Mr. Acheson brushed aside as of no consequence Senator Wayne Morse's hard-hitting attack on the department's passport policies. It can be assumed, therefore, that he will con-

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 1
Coalition in Korea? 3

ARTICLES

The "Subversive" U. N. *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 5
The Men Behind the Money *by Barrow Lyons* 6
Rebellion Against Adenauer *by John Altmann* 9
Chlorophyll: Fact or Fraud? *by Joseph J. Seldin* 11

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Reading for Republicans *by Wayne Morse* 13
Some Questions on Korea *by W. MacMahon Ball* 14
After the Plague *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 15
Trimming the Budget *by Willard Shelton* 16
Some Recent Fiction *by Ruthven Todd* 17
Books in Brief 18
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 18
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 19

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 472
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 20

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tinue to knuckle under to the McCarrans and the McCarthys. Incidentally, Senator Morse's office received a telephone call from Herbert A. Philbrick and Newton H. Fulbright, who write on "the red network" for the New York *Herald Tribune,* demanding to know why the Senator was interested in the passport procedures of the State Department and calling his attention to the fact that the Communists were also critical of these procedures. "We have come a long way in America in connection with political smears," Senator Morse points out, "when persons jump to the conclusion that a Senator is a Communist, a Communist dupe, or a Communist supporter because he defends a constitutional principle."

Fruits of Integrity

Few acts of President Truman have done him less credit than his failure to reappoint Judge Delbert E. Metzger to the federal bench in Hawaii. By refusing to fix bail in a Smith Act prosecution in the amount demanded by the Department of Justice, Judge Metzger incurred the bitter antagonism of Senators O'Mahoney and McCarran and of former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath [*The Nation,* September 15, 1951]. Judge Metzger's action would have been courageous under any circumstances; it took on added dimensions by reason of the fact that his term was about to expire. Since the end of his term last September 28, he has continued to serve, but President Truman has now appointed Judge Jon Wiig in his place. Obviously the Administration never intended to reappoint Judge Metzger and merely waited until public indignation over the attempt of the Department of Justice to intimidate a federal judge had subsided before nominating a successor. Even so, the action is hard to explain since the Judge was a favorite of President Truman's and has always been highly regarded by the Supreme Court and by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. For his refusal to knuckle under to official pressure, as well as for his long, distinguished record, Judge Metzger leaves the bench with the respect and admiration of all those who respect honesty, independence, and courage in our judiciary.

Joe and Pat

Joe and Pat—Senators McCarthy and McCarran—now want to silence the American press. Recently Senator McCarthy sent a letter to eleven national advertisers asking them to withdraw their advertising from *Time,* which last November published a rather uncomplimentary cover story about him. Inclosed with the Senator's letter was a copy of an article by Nora de Toledano, wife of Ralph de Toledano, co-author of "Seeds of Treason," which appeared in the February issue of the *American Mercury.* Just why the *American Mercury* should be a party to a proposal to boycott a magazine on a political issue is

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rather hard to understand, but perhaps it aspires to take over *Time's* accounts. This attack on a free press is cut from the same pattern as Senator McCarran's attempt to silence Henry Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas *Sun*. Greenspun, who is suing McCarran for $1,000,000 damages, contends that Nevada's senior Senator telephoned a leader of the Las Vegas gambling fraternity on March 19 and ordered all gambling advertisements removed from the *Sun*.

Recently Senators McCarthy and McCarran, both members of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, joined in rebuking Conrad E. Snow, head of the State Department's Loyalty-Security Board, for the new political offense of "reviling" a Senator. When Mr. Snow admitted having made statements against McCarthyism, Senator McCarran broke in to demand, "Where did you get the right to revile a member of the Senate?" Apparently free speech is as obnoxious to Joe and Pat as a fress press. Leonard F. Schmitt, leader of the insurgent Wisconsin Republicans, who has finally decided to oppose McCarthy for the Republican nomination, should make excellent use of the issue. If McCarthy survives the blows that Schmitt, a Roman Catholic of German descent, can deliver, he will still face Henry Reuss, now assured of the Democratic nomination, in November. For Joe, the signs read "stormy weather ahead."

Symbol of America

The superliner United States, this country's newest pride of the seas, was a pretty picture as she sailed down the Hudson this week to begin her first crossing of the Atlantic. There was an aura of brightness about her: gay bunting stiff in the breeze, the gleaming white expanse of her graceful superstructure, the red, white, and blue of her raked stacks that sent—as the advertisements pointed out—a "thrill of pride through every American's heart." She's the longest thing afloat now—three feet longer than the Queen Mary, though considerably slimmer in the waist and, as befits her youth, a trifle sprightlier in her ways. Wherever she berths the world over, she will symbolize what can be accomplished under the treasured American system of Free Enterprise, especially when the government puts up nearly two-thirds of the money.

The Magnificent Example

Over a year ago Mr. Truman requested a $775,000 grant from Congress to finance the construction of five detention camps. According to recent testimony given by James V. Bennett, director of prisons, before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee, the camps are now ready for occupancy and could house as many as 15,000 persons. J. Edgar Hoover is reported as having said the occupants are already picked out.

The President acted under a provision of the Internal Security Act which impowers him to take into custody in the event of war anyone "who there is reasonable ground to believe" would engage in espionage. This section of the act calls to mind Hermann Göring's explanation at the Nürnberg trial of why the Nazis built their concentration camps. "People were arrested and taken into protective custody," the chief of Hitler's Luftwaffe testified, "who had committed no crime, but who one might reasonably expect would do all sorts of things to damage the German state if they remained in freedom."

How to Vote in November

It is idle to speak of the McCarrans and the Walters as "un-American." There have always been two Americas. One is racist, chauvinist, anti-foreign, inbred, scornful of its rich international heritage, and—when not actually reactionary—dedicated to the preservation of the status quo. This is the America of the McCarran-Walter (anti-) Immigration bill, which Congress has just passed over the President's veto. The other America is humanist, progressive, democratic by instinct, proud of its varied origins, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. This is the America of which President Truman's veto message was an admirable expression.

In which kind of America do you believe? One way to express your belief is to note now the names of those Representatives and Senators who supported the President's veto and of those who opposed it—and to vote accordingly in November. *The Nation* knows no better test of qualification for reelection than a legislator's stand on this measure.

Coalition in Korea?

IT IS not surprising that our bombing of the Korean power installations aroused more excitement—initially, at least—among our allies than in China. In the long run China's only effective answer could be retaliation on Formosa or Japan, a step which might mean the opening of World War III. This is precisely what our allies don't want—hence the speed and intensity of their reaction.

London and Paris have of course looked askance before now at our handling of affairs in Korea. The trouble has been that from the beginning we have monopolized a situation which properly belongs to the whole United Nations. This might appear a less serious offense to our allies could we assume the whole ultimate cost as we today assume the sole authority. Unfortunately, we cannot. Every time we seal an operational plan in this small war, we may be sealing the fate of millions of our friends in a new and world-wide war. For it is perfectly certain that if there is a next war we shall not be able to win it alone; nor do we expect even to try.

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This, bluntly, is the stake that our allies have in the war room of General Mark Clark. Whether the admission to this room of a British deputy—and, as many Frenchmen are now insisting, of a French deputy, too—is sufficient to satisfy our allies remains to be seen. As this is written, the British Parliament is again scheduled to debate the question. In any case, the following London dispatch from *The Nation's* staff correspondent, Andrew Roth, points up the need for swift and drastic change in our Korean policy, military as well as political.

London, June 30

THE bombs which fell on the power plants on the Korean-Manchurian frontier may well have damaged Anglo-American relations more than they did China's fighting power. By neglecting to consult Britain beforehand, Washington has vexed its most vital British friends—the Attlee-Morrison leadership of the Labor Party, which not only has more popular support here than the Conservatives but is the only group which can count on the support of the trade-union masses.

Equally important, Washington has made its most fervent backers—the Churchill-Eden leadership of the Conservative government—appear as unprincipled stooges of the United States. It has also given powerful ammunition to the Bevanites, who are arguing that this kind of undisciplined American action constitutes as great a threat to world peace as Soviet aggression. Even the ardently pro-American *Economist* described the failure to consult as a "capital blunder."

Although it is generally recognized that Washington's neglect was inadvertent, the ungraciousness of its apologies has left a bad taste in British mouths. Acheson did little to mend matters when at a packed meeting of members of Parliament he refused to concede Britain's automatic right to be consulted. Even more hurtful to British pride was the attempt of some Washington officials to weasel out of the situation by suggesting that former Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison was on record as agreeing in principle to such bombardments. This provoked an unusually sharp repudiation from Morrison, who after describing himself as a "warm supporter of cordial Anglo-American relations," hit at what he termed the tendency of American officials to "intervene in British politics" by making "false allegations" about confidential diplomatic exchanges. He reiterated that he had agreed to the bombardment of Manchurian airfields only in the event "the truce talks had broken down and . . . serious large-scale military operations had been resumed. Neither of those circumstances obtains today."

Attlee's restrained but firm statement in Commons clearly had the approval of the entire membership. He made it plain that he was complaining as a loyal but still proud ally. He said that the Labor Party has "never concealed our admiration for the prompt way in which the Americans took up the challenge to the United Nations and the last thing in the world I should wish would be any causing of difficulties in Anglo-American relations. . . . We all know that the United States have provided the bulk of the forces and have sustained the heaviest casualties. But that has never meant that we have no say in the matter, nor has this ever been claimed by our American friends." Pointing out that the decision to bomb the power plants must have been made before Lord Alexander, British Defense Minister, had left Korea, he said: "A British minister visits the scene of operations and is apparently told nothing of this major operation. . . . That does seem to me to require some explanation." He paid tribute to the "immense patience" shown by the American negotiators and admitted that there was an arguable case that strong military action might bring the Chinese to terms. He himself, however, took an opposing view: "I think it is a profound mistake in psychology, and it is not the first that has been made in the course of the whole of these events. I think it will lessen the chances of an armistice and may lead us nearer to a general conflagration in the East, and if that happens no one knows where it may stop."

EDEN regretfully had to admit that "Her Majesty's Government" had not been informed of the American plans, although he insisted that the deed, now done, deserved Britain's wholehearted support. The Conservatives are particularly embarrassed because Churchill had clearly instructed Lord Alexander and Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd to be as nice as possible to the Americans on their Korean trip on the assumption that you attract more with honey than with vinegar. Washington's snub, however inadvertent, has made the Conservative tactic seem unalloyed slavishness. In fact, Bevan and his supporters are arguing that whereas the Labor government restrained the Americans, the Tories are content to be dragged in their wake. Bevan insists that American policy combines resistance to aggression with the fostering of counter-revolution, and at a recent labor rally he remarked: "I don't believe that one British soldier will risk his life in order to put Chiang Kai-shek back in China."

Bevan received unexpected support from Viscount Hinchingbrooke, former chairman of the Conservative Reform Committee, who told Commons last week: "We are a country which has gone through two wars in one generation. We are in many ways an exhausted country . . . we need a long period of peace. If the United States, in a different phase of development in a different corner of the world, cannot march with us, then I think I would begin gently but definitely to indicate to them that we cannot face the endeavors which they seem successfully to be able to endure. . . . I would admit of a temporary separation and a switch in foreign policy." A. R.

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The "Subversive" U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

INTERESTING things have been happening in the United Nations—some in plain view of everybody, others in the corridors. All have been related, and all point up the fundamental truth that the United Nations must either function as an instrument of peace, of negotiation, of diplomacy, or become simply a screw in the machinery of war preparations. Unless a commentator perceives this alternative, he can give no more than a routine report of moves and counter-moves which throw little light on the course of events. He will miss the real drama now going on in the United Nations—the fight between the "yes-men" and the "subversives" for the direction of policy.

Last week the best posts from which to watch developments were the sessions of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. At the first meeting of the Security Council an exceptionally large audience, attracted by Jacob Malik's presence in the chair, saw the West lose the initiative and Russia regain it. Little importance, in my opinion, should be attached to Mr. Malik's surprising mildness—his abandonment of the charge he had brought in the Disarmament Commission that the United States was waging germ warfare and his proposal that all states support the Geneva protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of bacteriological weapons. What was more significant was the effect of Mr. Malik's presentation on the delegates, the press, and the public. It was a revealing indication of what Soviet diplomacy might accomplish—in Korea and in Germany too—if it chose to use the opportunities open to it. By the mere appearance of a conciliatory spirit the Russians created a feeling of hopeful interest among the neutrals and uncertainty among the Western members of the Council. (Later of course, after the bombing of the Korean power plants, Malik abandoned his conciliatory attitude.)

The proceedings of the Economic and Social Council represented a victory for those who would prefer to use the United Nations to reduce tension over those who are afraid of any move which might imperil the rearmament program. One of the views now considered dangerous, even subversive, by an influential part of the American Congress and Administration is that economic and technical aid to backward countries should be provided by the U. N. out of an international fund and not unilaterally by the United States. When the Economic and Social Council, on June 23, approved by a vote of fifteen to nothing the creation of a nine-man committee of experts to draw the blueprints for the proposed development fund, the smaller nations, backed by the "subversives," won at least a moral triumph over the United States and the other great powers. Between now and the next Assembly, the "subversives" will become more subversive—because the economic experts in the Secretariat are solidly behind Gunnar Myrdal in his determination to use the fall meeting of the Economic Commission for Europe to push the issue of East-West trade.

In this anniversary week of the Korean war any clear stand in the U. N. on either the conduct of the war or the prospect of a settlement is also regarded as highly dangerous. Several delegations and some of the best elements in the Secretariat expressed shock and bewilderment at the devastating mass air attacks on the power plants on the Yalu River; yet they should not have come as a surprise to anyone who had read carefully the earlier statements by General Clark. In regard to the truce negotiations, the logic of circumstances makes it more unlikely every day that an agreement will be reached at Panmunjom while there is no agreement in sight on Germany—since Germany remains the key to peace or war. But a German settlement implies a four-power conference and the will to negotiate—and even to ask for this has become "subversive."

The lines of the struggle grow still clearer when one considers certain "invisible" developments. The offensive against the United Nations as an independent organization, not subservient to any strategy but that of peace, has been stepped up in recent months. More dangerous than the open attacks of the U. N.'s enemies are the intrigues of its friends—the silent conspiracy within the organization to convert it into a diplomatic affiliate of NATO.

The farewell speech delivered on June 11 by Porter McKeever, chief public-information officer of the United States delegation, was not only a courageous attack on his bosses for having disappointed the great hopes aroused at San Francisco. It was also a scathing criticism of their failure to make adequate use of the U. N. in the cold war against Russia. This reproach was not entirely just. In refutation one can cite the creation of the Little Assembly, the restrictions on the authority of the Security Council, where the veto made Russia strong, the resolutions favoring "collective measures," the tendency to supplant the Security Council by the Assembly, where the United States has had a sure majority.

"Invisible" events have also led Secretary General Lie to take measures to prevent the U. N. being called a "Communist nest"; again, the exigencies of the cold war

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and the policy of containment explain the continuing purge of the Secretariat. If Mr. Lie had not committed himself so definitely to the Western position, if he had kept the Charter as his Bible, he would not have yielded to the dominant hysteria but would have found in his high and neutral mission the strength to protect the people who worked under him. If it proved impossible to maintain the sovereignty of the United Nations in a country where violent passions were unleashed by the cold war, he could have had the organization moved to some other country where it could function more freely.

From now until the next Assembly meets in New York in October the underground struggle against United Nations "subversives" will gain in intensity. And the vigor with which it is pressed will be in proportion to the difficulties and delays encountered by Western diplomats in obtaining the ratification of the treaties of Bonn and Paris. At the same time efforts to subordinate the U. N. to NATO will become more open and more persistent—unless the independent delegations, which were showing signs of restlessness in the last Assembly, decide to revolt.

The Men Behind the Money

BY BARROW LYONS

ON THE eve of the Republican convention, which opens Monday in Chicago, the race has narrowed down to two men, or—to put it more accurately—to two camps. Although a dark horse may be nominated, no impressive showing has been made by any candidate other than Taft and Eisenhower, who obviously symbolize the division of forces within the Republican Party. The division is the more interesting since on most basic domestic issues Taft and Eisenhower appear to be in substantial agreement; and, until recently, even on foreign policy it has often been difficult to distinguish between them.

Yet the differences exist; else why the vast sums that have been spent on their rival candidacies, and the high passions involved? Perhaps the quickest way to an understanding of the basic issues dividing the two men is to study not only the candidates themselves but their supporters, on the reasonable theory that a man who invests in a future President of the United States ought to know what he hopes to get.

In the nature of things it is difficult to define or classify precisely the two groups struggling for the control of the Republican Party. The cleavage follows so broken a line that in more than one case institutions, families, and industries are themselves divided. For instance, Ford is for Eisenhower; Chrysler for Taft. Nevertheless, certain significant generalizations about the two camps may be formulated. Consider, for example, the following lists of bankers and industrialists who have so far made known their preference or can, with considerable assurance, be placed:

BARROW LYONS, formerly a New York financial writer, went to Washington fourteen years ago as economist for the Securities and Exchange Commission. For several years he was chief information officer of the Bureau of Reclamation and is now a free-lance writer.

For Eisenhower

Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman Chase National Bank, New York; Thomas J. Watson, chairman International Business Machines Corporation, New York; Thomas I. Parkinson, president Equitable Life and director Chase National Bank, New York; Howard C. Petersen, president Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company, Philadelphia; Philip D. Reed, chairman General Electric and International General Electric, New York; Henry deW. Collier, executive Standard Oil of California and chairman Arabian-American Oil Company; J. Frank Drake, chairman Gulf Oil Comporation, Pittsburgh, and director Chase National Bank; John Hay Whitney, J. H. Whitney and Company, New York; Ernest T. Weir, chairman National Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh; John L. Collyer, president B. F. Goodrich Company, Akron; Clarence Francis, chairman General Foods Corporation, New York; William E. Levis, president Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo; J. David Zellerbach, president Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco; Thomas McCabe, president Scott Paper Company, Chester, Pa.; Fred G. Gurley, president Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe; Aksel W. Nielsen, president Title Guarantee Company, Denver; Henry Ford II, Ford Motor Company, Detroit; Paul G. Hoffman, chairman Ford Foundation; Lieutenant General Lucius Clay, chairman Continental Can Company, New York.

For Taft

B. E. Hutchinson, director Chrysler Corporation, Detroit; Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, U. S. N. R., financial adviser to the Rockefellers and former partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, New York; Henry H. Timken, Jr., chairman Timken Roller Bearings, Canton, Ohio; George Wharton Pepper, chairman of executive committee Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company, Philadelphia; Charles A. Edison, chairman Thomas A. Edi-

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son, Inc., West Orange, N. J.; General Robert E. Wood, chairman Sears Roebuck, Chicago; Edgar M. Queeny, chairman Monsanto Chemicals, St. Louis; Edward L. Ryerson, Inland Steel Corporation, Chicago; Robert H. Morse, Jr., chairman Fairbanks, Morse and Company, Chicago; John D. M. Hamilton, attorney for Pew oil and shipbuilding interests, Philadelphia; Benjamin S. Katz, president Gruen Watch Company, Cincinnati; Joseph B. Hall, president Kroger Company, Cincinnati; Louis E. Leverone, vice-chairman Automatic Canteen Company of America, Chicago; Albert Woods, president Commercial Solvents Corporation, New York; C. S. Tomkins, president Tomkins Products, Detroit; Frederick C. Crawford, president Thompson Products, Cleveland; Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher Chicago *Tribune;* Arch W. Shaw, director Shaw-Walker Company, Chicago.

The lists indicate what the results of the primaries have already shown us: that Eisenhower's chief initial support came from the Eastern seaboard, Taft's from the Middle West (the first lists of backers issued by the candidates showed this geographical cleavage even more sharply). Closer examination finds the Eastern banking fraternity heavily represented in the General's camp—Wall Street, including Morgan, Mellon, and some at least of the Rockefeller interests, is definitely for Eisenhower—while Taft's support stems to a larger extent from moderate-sized Middle Western industrialists.

The geographical division relates to some fundamental changes that have taken place in the American economy during several recent decades. Middle West industry in this period, with the help of direct or indirect government subsidies and war orders, has accumulated huge reserves and thus won considerable freedom from Wall Street. With this increased autonomy has come a spirit of revolt against Eastern political as well as financial leadership. This is particularly marked among the Midwest "management crowd"—the men who actually run the plants, whether or not they own them. Salesmen who regularly cover the area report that management is almost wholly pro-Taft, even in establishments where ownership is pro-Eisenhower.

ALTHOUGH Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank, has not been mentioned by Eisenhower, there can be little doubt about his position, in view of the number of Chase directors who are rooting for the General, plus the support he is getting from Governor Dewey (whose Presidential and gubernatorial campaigns Mr. Aldrich helped finance). Mr. Aldrich's power and prestige spring partly from his considerable ability and partly from the fact that his sister married John D. Rockefeller, Jr. As head of Chase, the principal Rockefeller bank, he has linked it in many ways with both Morgan and Mellon interests.

One of the first indications of Mr. Aldrich's position was the announcement that General Eisenhower would be assisted in his campaign by Herbert C. Brownell, Jr., chief political strategist for Dewey and the brother of a Chase director. Thomas I. Parkinson, a director of the Chase bank, and Thomas J. Watson, chairman of the Morgan-financed International Business Machines Corporation, are credited with having influenced the General to accept the presidency of Columbia University. Eisenhower has another line to the Morgan interests through Philip D. Reed, chairman of General Electric; his line to the Mellon financial complex is through J. Frank Drake, chairman of Gulf Oil and a director of the Mellon National Bank and Trust Company.

The type of support Eisenhower is receiving is also suggested by the active role which General Clay, former military governor of Germany, is reported to be playing in the campaign. Clay's financial assistant in Germany was Major General William H. Draper, Jr., formerly of Dillon, Read and Company, now United States special representative in Europe detailed to the Mutual Security Agency and to NATO. Draper and Eisenhower are intimate friends. According to "All Honorable Men," a well-documented study of certain aspects of our German policy by James Stewart Martin, who served under Clay as head of the Decartelization Branch of Military Government, Clay, Draper, Philip Reed, and other men now supporting Eisenhower were primarily responsible for the failure of the decartelization program in Germany. To this extent, at least, big business—in the classic sense of the phrase, and with all its overtones—is in the front room of the Eisenhower ménage. It constitutes the core of the so-called "liberal wing" of the Republican Party—the internationalists, the interventionists, the supporters of Wendell Willkie's candidacy in 1940.

One of the great dangers in the present state of world turmoil is the development of economic super-government competing in *Realpolitik* with the United Nations. If we Americans had learned to master the forces of economic concentration within our own country, this might not be so great a threat. An Eisenhower administration, however, in which the President would almost be forced to rely upon the advice of former oil, steel, aluminum, and chemical cartelists for guidance in international affairs, could hardly be expected to promote strong control of international business.

Of a very different complexion is the pro-Taft list. Here are the men who, by and large, supported Taft against Willkie in 1940 and Bricker against Dewey in 1944. Here, to a large extent, are the legitimate heirs of the war-time isolationists, nationalists, and America Firsters. At one level their struggle against Eisenhower

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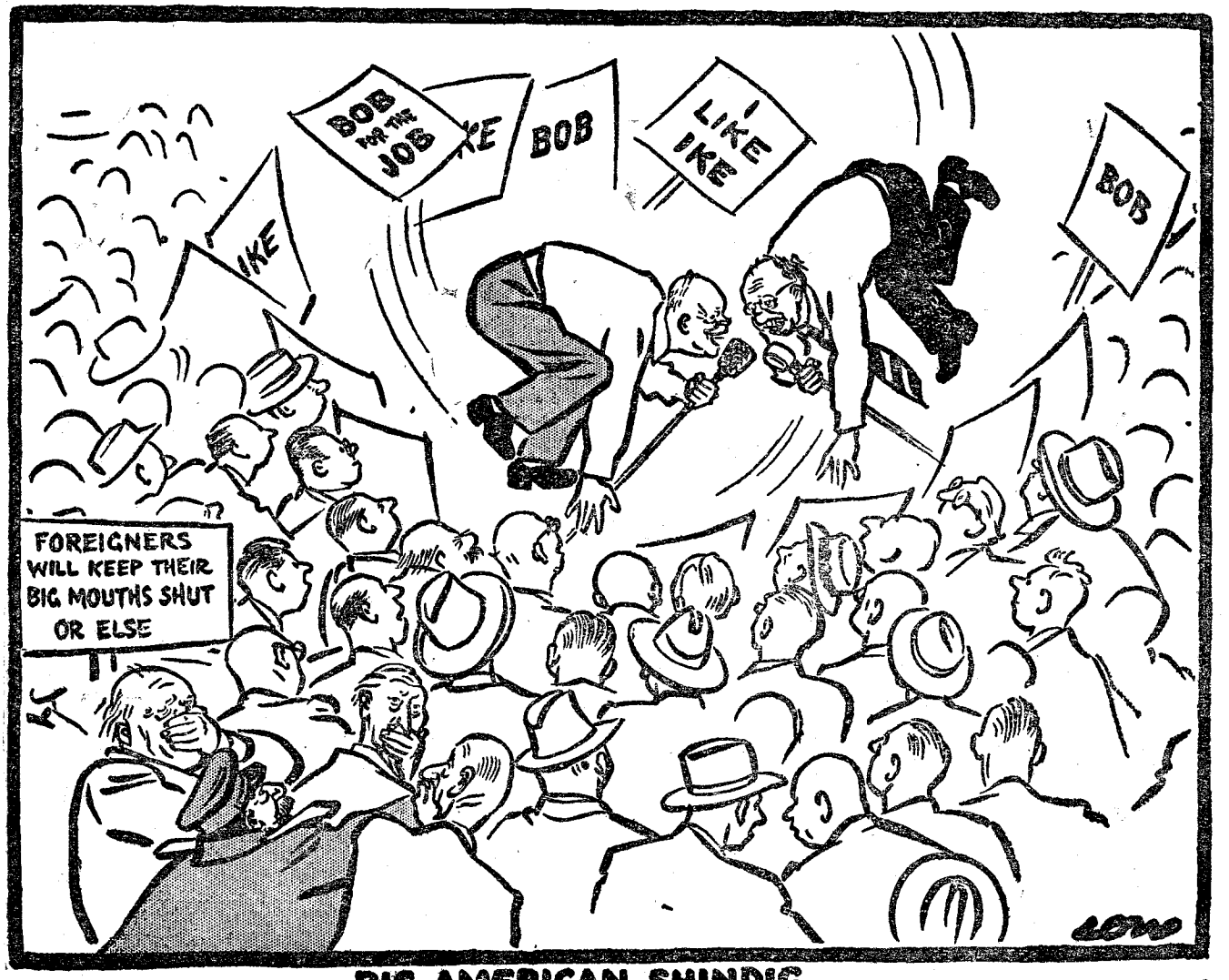
can be said to lack all ideological significance; they are simply fighting, as the Eisenhower group is fighting, for control of the White House and all its political prerogatives. The real differences between the two camps, as the *Wall Street Journal* has pointed out, are differences of method and approach rather than of ultimate objectives.

IN GENERAL the Taft supporters are old-style rugged individualists whose primary concern is with the domestic markets, and who, when they bother with foreigners at all, prefer force to finesse. They are friendly neither to NATO nor to the United Nations, and they are more inclined to support an aggressive policy in Asia than in Europe. They believe in American air power everywhere, but they want to keep the American foot soldier at home. They are inclined to take a dim view of the long-range survival value of European capitalism, feeling that the colonial powers are not "pulling their weight" and may have to be abandoned anyway in case of war. They are convinced of American ability to take over colonial markets if desirable, with or without the aid of a native middle class and/or of the European colonial powers.

On the other hand, the Eisenhower camp, faithful in military matters to the Marshall rather than the MacArthur school, is aggressive in Europe and cautious in Asia. NATO is not only a military plan; it is a philosophy which makes the Elbe more important than the Yalu. The General and his followers continue to believe in the United Nations as an instrument of American policy. More interested than the Taftites in foreign markets and sources of raw materials, they are more tactful in their approach to actual or potential foreign allies. They are committed to propping up Europe's industrial capitalism and to the support of the colonial powers. For the Eisenhower men believe that the best way to deal with explosive nationalist movements is through the nations that now control the backward areas. There is recognition of the importance of colonial reform; the Eisenhower men fully appreciate the need for developing a fairly prosperous and trained middle-class element among native populations. But they believe that where reforms are needed, the controlling powers should make them. In their view, France, Holland, Belgium, and Great Britain must be supported, not only in order to tighten the bonds that hold the Western alliance together and to save Europe for the capitalist world, but as a means of controlling areas for which the United States should have no direct responsibility



BIG AMERICAN SHINDIG

Courtesy London Daily Herald

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For some time John Foster Dulles has been offering himself as mediator between the two camps. Certainly he would seem to be a natural choice for the role, for he has a foot in each. He has strong ties with the Taftites, who once looked upon Germany and Japan as powerful and friendly barricades against the Russian threat. But he also has strong ties with the Eastern financial groups which supported Governor Dewey, and is one of the Governor's closest political friends and advisers. Apparently his mediation would be welcomed by Taft, but it is not so clear that it would be entirely acceptable to Eisenhower. He has lately been urging a "dynamic" foreign policy, as opposed to "passive" containment. This is hard to reconcile with the previously expressed views of Marshall and Eisenhower, which have at least allowed room for the notion that the two worlds, Russian and American, might coexist without war. And in an important recent speech Dulles seemed to challenge the whole Eisenhower school of thought by warning that communism, in its fight for world domination, was concentrating first upon Asia.

Less sharp but nevertheless existent are the differences on domestic issues. Taft has been complaining that Eisenhower has not said yes or no on the Taft-Hartley act. The complaint is symbolic. The Taftites are forthright in their reaction; many among them are intensely bigoted both on labor and on race problems. The Eisenhower group has shown itself more resilient in its approach to issues on which, in the long run, the cards are stacked against them. And certainly it is true that Eisenhower is supported by a larger percentage of employers with records of "enlightened" labor relations than Taft.

As has been indicated earlier, it can be cogently argued that Taft and Eisenhower do not differ on basic objectives: the maintenance of capitalist American leadership in a capitalist world. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the differences in method and approach. Should Taft be the next President, for instance, it can reasonably be anticipated that he would cut back European economic and military aid to a far greater extent than would Eisenhower; that he would be less inclined to use the United Nations; that he would emphasize strategic air power as our chief military weapon; that he would take a stronger line in Asia and—indifferent to the need for allies—a weaker one in Europe; that Point Four and similar programs would lose even the token support they now receive; that the possibility of negotiations with the Russians would be lessened; that labor would be in for a tough time at home.

Eisenhower's election would mean the opposite trend all along the line. In more general terms the difference might be summarized as follows: President Eisenhower, recognizing the existence and significance of the world-wide revolutionary ferment, would attempt to "contain" it; President Taft would attempt to control it, with or without the aid of European powers.

President Truman has cleverly permitted the Republicans to monopolize this debate. Adroitly he has jockeyed himself, and most of his party, into a liberal position on important domestic issues, while letting Eisenhower—vulnerable in this field—defend his foreign policy for him. The question is whether the Dixiecrats will permit the Democratic Party as a whole to capitalize on Truman's shrewd maneuver.

Rebellion Against Adenauer

BY JOHN ALTMANN

Bonn and Berlin

CHANCELLOR KONRAD ADENAUER can consider himself the most disliked man in the Federal Republic, as West Germany officially calls itself. His unpopularity has even penetrated the ranks of his own party. Reaching its height on the day the contractual agreement with the Western powers was signed, the feeling against him found expression in open rebellion. Some provincial governments and the Senate of West Berlin refused to comply with the order of his Minister of the Interior, Dr. Lehr, that "flags be displayed on public buildings in celebration of the signing" and that "the event be observed in schools." As a result the order had to be hastily rescinded. No flags were flown from public buildings in West Germany on Monday, May 26; no schools held celebrations. In Darmstadt a gigantic black flag of mourning was raised on a public monument in the center of the city by "unknown young men," and in Bonn itself a transit workers' protest strike halted all buses and street cars for an hour.

A similar attitude toward the agreement has been displayed by some of Dr. Adenauer's heretofore most influential supporters, inside and outside his immediate official family. Dr. Sigurt Paulsen, publisher of the *Diplomatische Korrespondenz* and long-time friend of the Chancellor, closed down his paper three days after the signing, letting it be known that he was no longer able to support Dr. Adenauer's "anti-national" policy. Next Jakob Kaiser, Minister for All-German Af-

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Letter from a German

So far all German rearmament decisions have been made without the consent of the German people. If you would take the time to investigate, you would discover at once that an acknowledged majority do not wish to be remilitarized.

Two horrible world wars had to be fought to put an end to German-Prussian-Nazi militarism and imperialism. . . . We tried to make amends [for war crimes] by adopting the ways of democratic countries, believing that the new American order of things was the real solution to our sorry problems. The diehards among the militarists and Nazis hated us for our willingness to adopt American democracy . . . but we believed in you and hoped that our sincere willingness to cooperate would give us the chance for a new and better start in life.

Our democratic happiness lasted only a short time. Our efforts for peace and demilitarization . . . were no longer favored by the very Allied authorities who had made us adopt these doctrines. And now we are being denounced as Communists if we refuse to believe in the blessing of a revival of Nazism and militarism.

Once after the war you saved us from starvation. You saved also my little family from a dreadful end. I cannot forget this. Once in our miserable lives as Germans you made us happy, and for this we thank you from the bottom of our hearts. But now we wish 1952 had never arrived.—*Extract from a letter to* The Nation *by Oscar C. Pfaus, Hamburg, Germany.*

fairs, challenged the Chancellor's policy in a public statement and demanded an East-West conference on German unification.

The controversy over the contractual agreement began long before it was signed. On the one hand, yesterday's adherents of the "thousand-year Reich"—the militarists and Nazis—boldly presented themselves as converts to democracy and offered their services to a "European Fatherland"—whatever that means. Amply supplied with funds, they launched veterans' weeklies supporting rearmament, one of which was subsequently outlawed in Austria by the Allied Control Council as "neo-Nazi." Opposition to rearmament has rallied an impressive list of organizations and individuals: the German trade unions; the Social Democrats; many youth groups under the slogan "Without us!"; church leaders, intellectuals, and outstanding former political leaders like Karl Severing and Carlo Schmidt.

In the second phase of the battle the issue was no longer whether or not Germany should have an army. It was whether Germany should be united or divided, whether there should be a West German army and in consequence an East German army—which meant the danger, sooner or later, of civil war. Alarmed by this prospect, the West Berlin *Nacht Depesche,* a paper known for its hostile attitude toward East Germany, felt compelled to write: "Germans of one side should not be armed to the teeth against Germans of the other side." Chancellor Adenauer, however, disregarded the mounting concern and anger and signed the *Generalvertrag* without even allowing a last debate in the Bundestag on a step of such great importance for the future of Germany.

AS SOON as this was done, the language of the reactionaries and neo-Nazis, in a press that is in great part at their disposal, became more violent and threatening. The main target of their attacks is the determination of the German workers to fight the renazification and remilitarization of Germany. Members of the student societies in Bonn invaded a Niemöller meeting and prevented the Pastor from speaking. Werner Finck, a well-known anti-Nazi writer, was intimidated in Köln during the showing of his satirical anti-rearmament revue "Hat Off—Helmet On." One of his assailants shouted, "You were in a concentration camp once; the next time you will be hanged." The hoodlumism of the Bund Deutscher Jugend, a youth organization whose orders to its members are signed by the "Führer of the Bund," caused a liberal Frankfurt paper to exclaim recently, "Does the street belong to the 'Brown Battalions'? They do not yet kill people or put them in camps, but sometimes it seems as if we were not very far from it."

Bills have been introduced in the Bundestag to "clear" all members of the S. S. and "lesser" members of the Gestapo. Major General Hauser, one-time leader of the S. S., has said he will fight for "the juridical acknowledgment of the Waffen-S. S. as part of the former Wehrmacht," which would make 2,000 former S. S. men eligible for enlistment in the European army. In Stuttgart 4,000 old soldiers of the Twenty-fifth Panzer Division were urged by their former commander, who is today a high officer in West Germany's militarized border police, to "preserve their strength." The para-military neo-Nazi organization, Free Corps Germany, founded last summer, held "maneuvers" during the Easter holidays in the Lüneburg plain, which is ordinarily reserved for the armed forces of the Western Allies.

Militarist and neo-Nazi propaganda fills the illustrated weeklies, which publish an endless succession of such stories as "The Nonsense of Denazification," "The 'Kamerad' Who Marched with Me," "How Our Navy Died," or "The Life of Magda Goebbels." The commercial daily press is as bad if not worse. The soldiers' weekly *Stahlhelm* headlined one of its editorials: "Out with the Traitors!" and announced: "We will hunt you down, and that very soon. If a general strike is called, this terror will be met by another terror!" It was this

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press which the moderate printers' union silenced all over West Germany some weeks ago by a forty-eight-hour strike directed against pending anti-labor legislation.

The action of the printers' union, which had not called a strike since the days of the Kapp putsch in 1920, opened the third phase of the battle. Numerous protest strikes by West German organized labor have been met by howls for "strong measures" against "union insolence." Posters of the so-called Free Democratic Party in West Berlin have called the West German unions "public enemy No. 2, next to the Soviets." The Free Democratic Party, let it be said, is neither very free nor very democratic; one of its few liberal leaders, Dr. Hans Reif, a deputy, has warned that the party is being "infiltrated by former high-ranking Nazi personalities" and must guard "against domination by right-wing tendencies."

The militarists continued their campaign with a demand from two veterans' associations in convention on June 9 for "an immediate positive solution to the question of the so-called war criminals." At the Hanover convention Nazi General Andreae, just released from a Greek prison, shouted: "We soldiers tell the politicians that a real European community is impossible if built on the principles of Nürnberg, Landsberg, and Werl." At Dortmund General Heer emphasized that "all German soldiers greet wholeheartedly the European idea, but the wrong done to the so-called war criminals must first be righted." Deep in the hearts of most people here is a nightmarish fear of the forces that twice in recent history led Germany into war and disaster. They experienced a spine-chilling shiver, therefore, when they heard that three former Hitler generals, all of them aristocrats—von Schweppenburg, von Manteuffel, and von Schwerin—had been chosen as corps commanders for the German contingent of the European army.

Meanwhile, the Social Democratic Party and the provincial governments of Hesse and Lower Saxony are awaiting the outcome of their appeal, now pending before the German Supreme Court at Karlsruhe, to have the signing of the contractual agreement declared null and void because it violates the German constitution. What the Social Democrats will do in case of a negative decision is anybody's guess. It is still uncertain also whether the union leaders will call for a general strike to check the danger of anti-labor legislation and renazification.

The conservative *Welt am Sonntag*, in a June issue, summed up the problem of Germany as follows: "Two determined blocs oppose each other. We face the danger of a mental civil war. To avoid this, the duty of a German government is to do all it can to make the four powers come together and discuss the German question. . . . Perhaps the peace of the world depends on it."

Chlorophyll: Fact or Fraud?

BY JOSEPH J. SELDIN

HUMAN body odors have long been combated by all kinds of soaps, ointments, sprays, and mouth washes. Millions of dollars have been spent to convince men and women that they face loss of jobs and friends unless they get rid of "B. O." But until two summers ago commercial aids to the olfactory betterment of man dealt only with his external odors. It was the advent of chlorophyll which first revealed that his whole internal system was subject to treatment.

A few months after the green tablets were put on the market, they outdistanced all competitors. Shelves piled high with products in the morning were empty by nightfall. Everyone was eager to try the new miracle pills. Their popularity was so sudden, so spontaneous, that keen-eyed merchants of allied products decided to jump on the bandwagon. At the end of 1951 eight million dollars had been spent on advertising, and sales had reached thirty-five million dollars. In 1952 sales are expected to push one hundred million dollars, and there is a twenty-million-dollar advertising budget.

Chlorophyll is found at present in about 150 consumer products—internal deodorants and breath sweeteners, toothpastes, chewing gums, dog foods, mouth washes, shampoos, cigarettes, reducing pills, douches, foot pads, air purifiers, nasal solutions, skin ointments, toilet paper, suppositories, and an ashtray with a chlorophyll refill. As a result of the huge demand the supply has run short, but processing plants are being rushed to completion to meet the need. It is about time, therefore, to examine chlorophyll—what it is and what evidence there is for its effectiveness in the varied commercial products which exploit its magic qualities.

Chlorophyll is the green coloring in plants and vegetable life. The name comes from the Greek *chloros* (green) and *phylon* (leaf). In chemical structure it is much like the hemoglobin in the human blood, and it seems to have a similar function, for just as the hemoglobin turns food into life-supporting substances, chlorophyll enables plants to make use of nutrients in the soil.

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Discovery of the similarity a hundred years ago led to considerable medical experimentation in the hope that chlorophyll might be used to treat some of man's ailments, but a simple urine test finally established the fact that chlorophyll in leaf form cannot be assimilated by the animal body. Only if leaf chlorophyll is transformed so that it is soluble in oil or water can body fluids readily absorb it. A chemical change in the urine is evidence of the absorption.

EXTENSIVE experiments with oil- and water-soluble chlorophyll have been carried on by Dr. Benjamin Gruskin, a Philadelphia physician. In his treatment of wounds, burns, and skin diseases Dr. Gruskin observed that the use of chlorophyll seemed to have a regenerative effect and was accompanied by the disappearance of the characteristic foul odor. Describing his treatment of 1,200 cases, Dr. Gruskin wrote in a medical journal of the "stimulating effect" of chlorophyll on the growth of connective cells. He theorized that chlorophyll worked not as a bactericide but by strengthening the tissue—increasing its resistance—against the invading bacteria. With respect to the disappearance of the foul odor, he suggested that by breaking down carbon dioxide and setting oxygen free, chlorophyll tended to "inhibit the action" of odor-causing anaerobic bacteria.

Gruskin's article appeared in 1940, and many experimenters since then have treated wounds, burns, and skin diseases with chlorophyll and obtained pretty much the same results. Thus encouraged, the medical researchers have tried using chlorophyll in the treatment of other human ills, such as cysts, ulcers and tumors, bed sores, anaemia, and cancer. Dental researchers have experimented with it for gingivitis, bad breath, pyorrhea, and in general post-operative therapy. The published reports of the research are generally favorable to chlorophyll as a healing and deodorant agent, though of course its worth cannot be thoroughly appraised until the results of all the experiments have come in, which may take several years.

The reports do show, however, that the tests had certain critical limitations, and these bear on the effectiveness of the many chlorophyll products now on the market. In almost all the professional experimentation, for example, the chlorophyll was used as a dressing, in physical contact with a wound, burn, or other lesion. Such application is of course a vastly different matter from taking chlorophyll pills through the mouth to deodorize the system. Only in the last two years have initial reports on the value of chlorophyll as an internal deodorant been published: some have been favorable, some unfavorable.

Another limitation is that in almost every experiment described in the professional literature the chlorophyll used was the Rystan Company's brand called Chloresium. In 1941 the Rystan Company of New York bought up the Gruskin patent covering the therapeutic uses of water-soluble chlorophyll. Rystan is an ethical drug house, and Chloresium—an ethical product—has a 90 per cent concentration of chlorophyll, as required by the Council of Pharmacy and Chemistry of the American Medical Association. The published results, therefore, were obtained with about as pure chlorophyll as can be produced.

The importance of this big concentration cannot be overstressed, particularly in evaluating chlorophyll as a systemic deodorant. Researchers have joined in warning that "dosage is a critical factor, with the deodorant effect dropping off as you decrease the dosage." Thus the degree of concentration is basic to any appraisal of the chlorophyll products on the druggists' shelves today. None of them, however, state this vital fact on their label. The label of only one—a mouth wash—even refers to concentration, and this in terms that defy being pinned down to a percentage.

While the Federal Food and Drug Act does not require such a statement on the label, the basic reason for its omission is that the cost of manufacturing a 90 per cent concentration of chlorophyll is prohibitively high. Even when obtained from its most economical source, alfalfa—harvested during certain seasons and at certain hours of the day—chlorophyll costs about a dollar a pound for each per cent of concentration. How much, then, can be present in a mouth wash that sells to the consumer for 49 or 69 cents? Simple arithmetic makes it clear that no consumer product on the market today contains a 90 per cent concentration of chlorophyll or anywhere near it.

Many of these products seem to have only enough chlorophyll for coloring and advertising purposes. An air purifier ends kitchen odors not because of its chlorophyll but because of its formaldehyde, which anaesthetizes the sense of smell. Crib sheets impregnated with water-soluble chlorophyll lose its deodorizing effect after the first washing. Foam-rubber inner soles water-proofed to seal in the chlorophyll fail for that reason to deodorize perspiring feet.

Physicians generally are not greatly impressed with chlorophyll. Their search for a really good healing agent is unlikely to be ended by its discovery. And as for its power to prevent body odors, there is still "no conclusive evidence." The Federal Food and Drug Administration is in fact "skeptical concerning the effectiveness of the deodorant action" and is awaiting further scientific studies. Meanwhile, the makers of chlorophyll products are riding high. There's lots of green in their future—if not in their products at least in their pockets.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Reading for Republicans

BY WAYNE MORSE

THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF SENATOR VANDENBERG. Edited by Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr., with the Collaboration of Joe Alex Morris. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

AS THE 1952 Republican convention assembles, a review of the private papers of Senator Vandenberg is most appropriate, for the convention this year may very well be D-Day for the Republican Party—Demise Day. Many of us in the Republican Party feel that a political dirge rather than a march of victory awaits if the convention does not keep faith with the spirit and political teachings of Arthur Vandenberg. His vision was focused on the destiny of the United States in the next century, not limited to the next election. As a statesman he recognized the importance of a non-partisan foreign policy to the future of the nation; but his statesmanship was not without its opportunism, and it is no discredit to him to say that his political sagacity caused him to recognize that the Republican Party must adopt a non-partisan foreign policy if it was to survive as a political force in America.

These private papers provide an account of statesmanship at its best, of very human statesmanship. In the opinion of this reviewer the book supports the thesis that it was the crusading spirit, the courage, the logic, the persuasive force of a converted isolationist that held a majority of Republicans to strong support of a non-partisan foreign policy during the war years and up to the time of Vandenberg's death. But salesmanship as well as statesmanship played a part in maintaining the principle that politics must stop at the water's edge. If the isolationist wings in both major parties, which incidentally were only silenced and not converted during the period of Vandenberg's leadership, had not been confronted with the teamwork of two such giants as Vandenberg and Connally, it is more than likely that division and discord would have seriously hampered the war effort.

One of the fascinating aspects of this book is its vivid portrayal of the human factors in American politics even in the field of foreign policy. So many people seem to forget that government is operated by mere men, and that human factors explain in no small measure the acceptance or defeat of proposals and policies. Vandenberg was a keen student of human motivations, of the psychological impulses that make politicians tick. His diary shows strong appreciation of the strengths and weaknesses of human beings, including himself as well as his colleagues in public life. It was undoubtedly his tolerance of the shortcomings of others—and a strength of character which enabled him to rise above personal abuse and unfair criticism—that made him so successful as a compromiser of conflicting points of view. Both the tendency and the ability to compromise constituted one of Vandenberg's strengths and also one of his weaknesses. Too frequently he rationalized a bad compromise on the theory that half a loaf is better than no bread at all, failing to recognize that the handling of the compromise had left the bread inedible.

His diaries also disclose what this reviewer frequently observed—a tendency to separate foreign policy and domestic policy into watertight compartments, a failure to see the many inseparable connections between them. Part of the explanation is to be found in Vandenberg's notions of sound political strategy. For example, I recall very vividly an incident in 1947 when the Taft-Hartley bill was pending before the Senate and the Senator from Ohio was defeated by a very close vote on one of the amendments he had proposed. Vandenberg voted for the Taft amendment, but within an hour told me in the cloakroom of the Senate that he was glad Taft had been defeated. When I expressed surprise, the Senator from Michigan explained that he had voted for the amendment as a matter of political strategy, because he felt that if he went along with Taft on such domestic issues, their slumbering feud on foreign policy would be less likely to break out into the open.

This willingness of Vandenberg's to compromise some of his own convictions on domestic policy in order to protect what he considered the much more important issue of a non-partisan foreign policy concealed what I believe to be a fact—namely, that he had been converted from a reactionary to a liberal, not only in the field of foreign policy but on domestic issues as well. In respect to foreign policy his conversion led him to make a public confession of faith; in respect to domestic policy, for the sake of peace within the political family, he tended by his votes to subscribe to the same old reactionary doctrines but personally prayed for a new liberalism which placed human values first in party doctrine.

Chapter 27 of the book—entitled China, the "Conundrum of the Ages"—illustrates Vandenberg's processes of rationalization at their best and worst. Such mistakes as he made can detract very little from the greatness of his contribution to the history of the country. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that during the period which preceded the fall of China, Vandenberg, like so many others, had concentrated on European problems to such an extent that he neglected the problems of Asia more than it was wise to do.

This chapter shows that Vandenberg was aware that things were not going well in China; he was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate during the Eightieth Congress. Yet he made no real fight to check our government's mistakes in China or to insist upon the laying down of American conditions aimed at preventing the Nationalist Chinese government from continuing to make mistakes that played into the hands of the Red Chinese. In fact, he let months go by without insisting upon a full disclosure by the Administration to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of State Department policy in Asia, including such findings as were set out in the Wedemeyer report. The breakdown of the non-partisan foreign policy in Asia cannot be rationalized away by placing the responsibility for it entirely on the

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Administration, because the Republican leaders, particularly the great spokesman of a non-partisan foreign policy, Senator Vandenberg himself, could have forced a Congressional and public review of Asiatic policy at any time from V-J Day to the date of the disastrous retreat of the Nationalist government to Formosa. The very important question of why Vandenberg did not make a real fight on Asiatic policy remains unanswered.

One of the great tenets of Vandenberg's philosophy was his belief that permanent peace will never come to mankind except by way of a system of international justice through law. It was a faith he was still formulating as far as its articles of principle were concerned, but those articles were taking on more and more specific form during the closing years of his life.

We see him in 1945 somewhat reluctantly agreeing to support a resolution that the United States should accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, although his comments at the time showed a distrust of foreign judges passing on any issue involving the United States. By 1947 we see him more willing to agree that mutual disarmament must be in the long run one of the prerequisites to world peace.

By the time of his death he had made a glorious record in defense of the principle of international justice through law by his repeated support of the framework of the United Nations, although he recognized its defects and its need for improvement in procedures, powers, and jurisdiction. If he had made no other contribution, his faith in this principle and his labors to establish it would be sufficient to enthrone him among America's great.

Some Questions on Korea

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR. By I. F. Stone. Monthly Review Press. Distributed by Citadel Press. $5.

THE policy of the United Nations in Korea is based on the acceptance of a series of propositions about the conduct and objectives of North Korea, Communist China, and the Soviet Union. Perhaps the key propositions are that the war was started by a North Korean act of unprovoked aggression which caught South Korea and its friends by surprise; that the Chinese intervention was an act of aggression; that the United Nations are sincere, and the Communists insincere, in efforts to achieve an armistice.

There is a tendency to regard these and kindred propositions as logically necessary inferences from incontrovertible facts. To doubt the facts or the inferences is to be the dupe of Communist propaganda. Yet in the light of history it would be odd if the issues in Korea were as simple as that. Samuel Butler once wrote that the art of life was to draw sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises. The art of politics is certainly no simpler. Governments must perpetually make great decisions in the light of evidence that is seldom consistent and never complete. Mr. Stone has written an able and informed exposure of the gaps, the obscurities, and the inconsistencies in the evidence on which United Nations actions in Korea are ostensibly based.

Of course Mr. Stone tries to do much more than that. He is not quite exact when he states in his preface that his book is "what it purports to be . . . the hidden history of the Korean War, the facts to be found in the official accounts themselves if texts are carefully examined and reports collated." Mr. Stone's real thesis is that the official reports are so riddled with omissions, distortions, and errors that the truth cannot be found by merely reading them but only by the careful appraisal and interpretation of each report. His own evaluation and appraisal lead him to the conclusion that the main propositions on which United Nations policy is based are dangerously astray. He puts forward an alternative series of interpretations which he believes more consistent with the available evidence. To this reviewer some of the views Mr. Stone puts forward seem reasonable and even necessary inferences from the evidence he presents: others look like rash conjectures. In the chapters on the origin of the war, the strands of argument seem strained and fragile. Mr. Stone puts forward the "hypothesis" that American Intelligence knew of the North Korean build up and that an imminent attack by the Northerners was probable; that Rhee, in connivance with MacArthur and Dulles and other American leaders, decided to encourage the Northerners to attack by not warning them against it, invited them to attack by making purely defensive formations in the South, and then deliberately provoked the invasion by "minor forays" across the border. For Rhee and MacArthur and Dulles a war in Korea would ease many problems, Mr. Stone argues. It would give Chiang Kai-shek protection against invasion from the mainland. It would put off the question of withdrawing American troops in Japan and surrendering air and naval bases there. It would save the Rhee regime from imminent overthrow.

If Mr. Stone interprets the purely defensive formations of the South Koreans as an invitation to attack by the North it is hard to know what inferences he would have drawn if their formations had been offensive. Perhaps an even more obvious invitation to attack? And if the Northerners were provoked into a large-scale, carefully planned invasion by "minor forays" by Southern forces, they were, from Mr. Stone's standpoint, uncommonly obliging. If they could be provoked to such a major reaction by a little needling along the border, their responsibility for the ensuing conflict does not seem to be materially diminished. Perhaps few of the great historical acts of aggression have been entirely unprovoked. There is no doubt that in Korea Dr. Rhee gave the North plenty of verbal provocation.

No incident seems to be too trivial for Mr. Stone to "collate" if it can be conceivably construed as evidence for the "hypothesis" that the South attacked first. He suggests there may have been a sinister connection between a Commonwealth military conference in Melbourne, in June, 1950, and the Korean war. Sometimes his eagerness to make a point leads Mr. Stone to make naive mistakes, as when he states that the lifting of the ban on left-wing rallies in Japan was "due to pressure from Allied Headquarters, where a spokesman said, 'We are not going to allow the re-creation of a police state in Japan'—one of the few times when Allied Headquarters made itself felt in MacArthur's realm." Allied headquarters were, of course, MacArthur's purely American headquarters.

It is a pity that Mr. Stone's theorizing about the origins of the war is so

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tendentious, for when he goes on to analyze the conduct of the campaign and of the truce talks his reasoning steadily gains in persuasiveness and strength. This is because, as his story proceeds, he comes to rely more on documentary evidence and less on his personal appraisement of the motives and intentions of United Nations and Communist leaders. It is a reasonable inference from the documentary evidence Mr. Stone collates that official reporting of the Korean conflict by the U. N. military authorities has often been alarmingly unreliable and misleading. The author's analysis of the official statements made in November, 1951, about the fate of prisoners of war in Communist hands is a most effective indictment of irresponsibility in high places. Mr. Stone has an easy time in exposing the obscurities and inconsistencies in many of the day-to-day reports of military operations. His conjectures about the motives of those making the reports are often plausible but not always convincing. He does, however, give convincing evidence, particularly in his analysis of the reports of the first push north across the parallel, that the phrase "United Nations policy" was generally only a euphemism to describe American decisions. This was partly because General MacArthur had the knack of confronting the United Nations with *faits accomplis* which, in the effort to maintain a united front, most of its members felt bound, however reluctantly, to indorse, and partly because America, in its global power and in its Far Eastern efforts, dwarfed all of its friends.

Mr. Stone's theories about the failure to achieve an armistice are perhaps more important than anything else in this book. He suggests that it is simply because Washington does not want an armistice. It would create too many political difficulties. A peaceful settlement in Korea would mean a slackening of world tension, and American citizens would no longer be ready to make the sacrifices the Administration believes necessary in the defense effort. Since the United Nations have lost the unquestioned air supremacy they earlier enjoyed in Korea, a settlement which reflected the military situation would be much less favorable than the sort of settlement that was hoped for a year ago. Moreover, an armistice would revive politically dangerous controversies about American policy toward Formosa and toward Communist China. The Administration may wish to postpone redefining its attitude on those explosive issues.

While Mr. Stone falls far short of proving this implied indictment of the official American attitude, he certainly presents a case that should go to a jury.

Mr. Stone claims that he has written a case study in the cold war. Whatever the merits of his own diagnoses in Korea, his book raises three wider and deeper questions for America, and for all America's friends and allies.

Can America reasonably expect to hold the loyalty of its old allies, particularly of the Western democracies, unless, on future issues, it gives them fuller opportunities to influence its policy than it has given them in the Far East?

Can America reasonably expect to exercise effective control over its new allies, particularly over a rearmed Japan and Germany, when it has apparently not always been able to control the much less powerful Rhee regime?

Is America's main objective to contain the Soviet Union or to destroy communism wherever and whenever it appears? The first aim points to negotiation, the second toward war.

W. MACMAHON BALL

After the Plague

PAINTING IN FLORENCE AND SIENA AFTER THE BLACK DEATH. By Millard Meiss. Princeton University Press. $12.50.

THE second half of the fourteenth century generally receives only passing attention in histories of Italian painting. In Florence, Giotto was dead, and few of his direct pupils were left to carry on in the tradition he had so firmly established. As for Siena, Duccio, the founder of the local school, had died in 1319; death had ended the career of his brilliant disciple, Simone Martini, at Avignon, where he was celebrated by Petrarch; and the brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti were among the victims of the plague in 1348. It is plausible, therefore, to think of Sienese painting as suffocating in its own elegance until Sassetta brought to it a new simplicity, and of Florentine painting as succumbing to Sienese charm until the great Masaccio reawakened it through his own discovery of Giotto. Painters like Orcagna, Barna, Bartolo di Fredi, and Francesco Traini are—or have been—for the scholars and connoisseurs alone. With this admirable book another estimate becomes possible.

Professor Meiss has cut across specialists' preserves to consider Florentine and Sienese painting of the period 1350-1375 as a single entity. He is less interested in their differences than in how the times brought them together. He combines a perceptive eye with a sure grasp of social and religious history. As a result, he has very nearly achieved that rare combination—a book for scholars which a more general, if studious, public can read with profit. At the same time he has surveyed and brought up to date the manifold and complicated work of scholars the world over.

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Essentially, this book is about the effects of the Black Death on Tuscan life and art. In 1348 more than half of the inhabitants of Florence and Siena were wiped out. The horror of those days and the religious revival it inspired became positive forces in the painting of succeeding decades. Instead of being merely decorative echoes of the work of an earlier generation, the best art of the 1350's and 1360's projected the new attitudes of mysticism, spiritual turmoil, and a kind of neo-Byzantine formalism. New themes, like the Madonna of Humility, appeared, and very old ones, like the Christ in Majesty, were revived, while stories popularized by Giotto, like Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, underwent unexpected evolutions. A new generation of mystics found their counterparts among the painters. All of this is carefully recorded and expertly appraised.

As a former laborer in Professor Meiss's special field, I am all admiration for the master-work he has brought to completion. I can only wish that he had kept in mind a somewhat broader public. By a little shifting of emphasis, more of that public could have been attracted to explore the world he has opened up. The prevailing finances of publishing make it inevitable, I suppose, that the plates—which are excellent—must be gathered at the back. This is unfortunate, because Meiss's interesting comparisons and very close analysis of individual paintings would have gained considerably if the plates had been scattered through the text. A reader willing to peer back and forth, like a spectator at a tennis match, will find these analyses and comparisons extremely rewarding.

Meiss writes clearly and often he writes well. There is not enough evidence, however, of his own keen enthusiasm for his subject. If he had allowed his style to gain a certain momentum, he might have avoided such verbal traps as the one on page 15, where he describes a Madonna as follows: "Though she appears to be seated, what she sits on is not visible." The plates provide, as the jacket rather stumblingly announces, "a useful corpus of illustrations of hitherto not readily available material." Professor Meiss has done better than that: he has collected some magnificent and original works of art isolated in lesser-known chapels and provincial Tuscan churches—not to mention their further isolation in the pages of scholars' tracts and journals. With knowledge and with judgment he has held them up to the mirror of history.

Love's labor—and not lost.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Trimming the Budget

ECONOMY IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. By Senator Paul H. Douglas. The University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

THE extraordinary difficulties faced by Congress in trying to deal with enormous federal expenditures are expertly described by Senator Douglas. The budget is so unimaginably big ($85 billion for the fiscal year beginning July 1) and the staff resources of Congress are so inadequate to study individual items that members of Congress are almost helpless in exerting specific and sensible controls. As a professional economist Douglas accepts the now classical doctrine that a government deficit in times of full employment is dangerously inflationary, and he begs his fellow-liberals to realize that a liberal is not necessarily a wastrel. As a scholar in government the Senator thinks that Congress should reassert its constitutional power to control the purse strings. There are sections in which he has sacrificed thoroughness of explanation for terseness, and one is not sure that the dogmas he asserts in these sections—he proposes a $1.8 billion cut in foreign aid—are necessarily true. But the book is highly valuable both because it describes individual federal activities which Douglas thinks are wasteful and because it pulls together general ideas he has previously expressed only in isolated speeches and in connection with his efforts to trim specific appropriations.

Summed up briefly, Douglas thinks that the Department of Agriculture and the Department of State are grossly overstaffed; that rivers and harbors expenditures—particularly for such "civil" functions of the Army Corps of Engineers as digging deeper channels in the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers—are uneconomic; that postal, airline, shipping, and agricultural subsidies are inflated; that the military establishment is the worst offender in the field of wasteful spending—and tries to cover up by calling even its expenditures for servants for officers abroad "classified" material. He would cut $7.6 billion from proposed expenditures, raise an additional $2.4 billion by plugging tax loopholes, and bring the government's "consolidated cash budget" into approximate balance.

No experienced observer of the federal government's multitudinous activities can effectively dispute Douglas's belief that certain checks that tend to prevent wasteful hiring in private industry do not exist in government. No competition for profits, for example, tends to persuade administrators to hold down costs. There is a certain amount of "empire building" arising from the fact that supervisors create better-paid jobs for themselves by increasing the number of subordinates they control. It is also true that bureaucrats tend to resist any reduction or abolition of their functions: the prime example is the way in which the Corps of Engineers and the Reclamation Bureau joined to indorse the Pick-Sloan plan for the Missouri Valley in order to block development of a new valley authority that would supersede both.

This reviewer happens to agree with Douglas's basic thesis—that the doctrine of "compensatory government spending" is sound, that in times of depression inflated spending is justified, but that the inevitable logical corollary is that in times of full employment an unbalanced budget is a disgrace and an economic menace. There is a certain irony, however, in the Senator's suggestion that one way for Congress to improve its controls is to hire more staff members for its appropriations committees and create a new "watch-dog" group in the General Accounting Office to keep a constant independent check on the budget. Just as in the administrative departments, when we want new services performed by Congress we get them by hiring more people. It would have been useful, too, if Douglas had discussed some of the Hoover Commission's criticisms of the General Accounting Office and the civil service—both of them agencies directly responsible to Congress and both, according to the Hoover Commission, wasteful in their methods and effects. One may express a certain gratitude for the Senator's happy

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phrase that the shocking level of federal spending results not from the welfare state but from the "warfare world."

WILLARD SHELTON

Some Recent Fiction

THE SECOND FACE. By Marcel Aymé. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

PARENTS DAY. By Paul Goodman. The 5x8 Press, Saugatuck, Conn. $3.

FORTY-FOUR GRAVEL STREET. By Ben Maddow. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

MISSING. By Egon Hostovsky. The Viking Press. $3.

PORIUS. By John Cowper Powys. Philosophical Library. $5.75.

COLONEL JULIAN AND OTHER STORIES. By H. E. Bates. An Atlantic Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

SUCH an assortment of novels is reminiscent of one of those old-fashioned herbalist's shops which contained a nostrum for every ill. Each bottle has its own label—Marcel Aymé "Wit," Paul Goodman "Discontent," Ben Maddow "Whimsy," Egon Hostovsky "Investigation," J. C. Powys "King Arthur," and H. E. Bates "Characterization." Still, with the possible exception of Bates and the author of "The Second Face," all these writers have one thing in common. Their worlds are not the sort that can be pinned down and carefully examined by the literary entomologist, who can in some such manner examine the microcosms of a Trollope or a Tolstoy. Somehow (it may be a contemporary symptom) the worlds do not jell or hold together; they are splinter worlds which are not even consistent within their own boundaries. Even the historical novel, executed on mural scale, is somehow incomplete within itself. Historical personages clank around, but do not seem to live completely. They tend to call to mind Fuseli's description of Pope's "Heloise and Abelard" as "hot ice."

The small world of Marcel Aymé's fantasy is, however, complete within itself, and its picture of the middle-aged business man who suddenly finds himself with the face of an Adonis in place of his own rather undistinguished visage is completely believable, despite the preposterous situation. His M. Cerusier, whose only ambition, under the altered circumstances, is to seduce his own wife, is a completely realized character, down to his indignation with his wife, when he accomplishes his victory, for having been such an easy victim and for saying such things about his former self.

Paul Goodman's section of the globe is seen through the eyes of a neurotic homosexual schoolmaster at cross-purposes with the staff of the progressive school where he is teaching. The staff members, as is common in both British and American books about progressive schools, appear infinitely more neurotic and obsessed than the children whom they are supposed to guide. The protagonist in "Parents Day" suffers with all the violence of a character in "The Naked and the Dead," and the battlefield of school is just as bloody. Having the other day picked up, for a nickel, the Reverend Dean Frederick Farrar's "St. Winifred's or the World of School," first published in 1862, I tried the experiment of reading it at the same time as "Parents Day," with the odd result that Goodman's school appears to be little more than a post-Freud, Gidean St. Winifred's. The turbulence of the narrator is the glass through which everything is seen darkly.

"Forty-four Gravel Street" has been drenched with rather too much Saroyan syrup for the taste of the present reviewer, who can't stand children who make remarks which are obscure enough to pass as wisdom. Still, Ben Maddow seems to have achieved his odd aim of drawing tight the strings of "this cruel, feverish, sensitive net" (his own words), and showing us his world as an unrelated object, though the moves of his pawns are just a little too predictable. Andersen's search for his errant wife, who has gone off to follow a rather unbelievable revivalist, somehow seems as though it was intended to convey more meaning than meets the mind at first reading. Maybe I got too bogged down in the sensitivity to catch the sense.

Egon Hostovsky, who served in the Czech diplomatic corps under Jan Masaryk and who resigned from Communist control at Oslo in 1949, tells the story of the Communist coup in Prague and of the troubles of a journalist who wants to go to the United States. This world of investigations, both Communist and American, is almost outside the meaning of sense. A world where violence and intrigue have become the motives, where the atmosphere is that of one of Graham Greene's earlier "entertainments" or Eric Ambler crossed with Arthur Koestler, unfortunately exists, but somehow here its illogical reality does not quite have the impact of, say,

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that of Kafka's "Castle." It may well be that Hostovsky is still too close to the events which he depicts to give them that objective clarity which would make their inconsequence seem rational within an irrational framework.

Moving sideways into history, John Cowper Powys has noted that there is an absolute blank in the history of Britain from the middle of the fifth century until the middle of the sixth—"It seems, therefore, highly probable that this historic blank, as far as written documents go, was filled by Arthur's powerful and prosperous rule, this lack of documentary history being itself evidence that for one generation at least matters in this island were well under control." So he creates an imaginary world, peopled with such curious ghosts as Arthur, Merlin, and Taliessin. Of the poetry of the last-named he says, "His verse had, however, a weirdly original character unlike that of any known poet except, perhaps, Walt Whitman. Its entirely individual character makes it easy for a writer who is no poet to imitate it, as has been done in this book." I wonder if Mr. Robert Graves is listening? The names in the book are difficult and one occasionally runs into snatches such as "I wish Porius ab Einion ab Iddawc ab Edeyrn to hear it; and I wish Rhun ap Gwrnach ab Agenor y Gaethwas to hear it" which make the reader grateful for the innovation of providing a list of the characters on a bookmark.

H. E. Bates is gradually shucking off the impact of the war as direct material for his stories. Now when war appears it is only as a background to people, such as the aged Colonel Julian whose house has been taken over by the Air Force and who cannot understand the strange language of the strange young men; Miss Burke who, steeled to impersonality as a nurse, is still stirred by the thought of the young man wounded just as his time has expired and he was due to go home; and the tea-planter, Owen, due to quit India with the British, who is shot by a hunted murderer. The stories may deal with small matters and small people, but each one is fully rounded and each person is realized completely. Mr. Bates does not attempt to contrive happy endings, and his new stories are among the most impressive he has published. RUTHVEN TODD

Books in Brief

THE THURBER ALBUM. By James Thurber. Simon and Schuster. $3.50. Those who read Mr. Thurber's earliest tales about the misadventures of his family and friends probably thought them wholly fictitious. Now that he undertakes a sober account of the near great and the eccentric who surrounded his Ohio boyhood the whole thing sounds only slightly less fabulous. If there were not actually any seals in the bedroom there might just as well have been. The entertaining profiles include among their subjects a serving maid who shot a thirty-two at a supposed prowler, a neighbor who thought what she called "electric toilets" the last word in effete luxury, a self-confident practical nurse who administered blue mass freely to all, and a collection of newspapermen affectionately regarded by Mr. Thurber. His fellow-citizens seem to have been a lively lot.

HENRI CHRISTOPHE AND THOMAS CLARKSON. A Correspondence. Edited by Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator. California. $4. The first publication of a long and interesting correspondence between an English abolitionist and a Negro king of Haiti, together with letters from English residents at Christophe's court describing his dramatic downfall and suicide. Also included is a history of the slave revolts and wars that led up to Christophe's reign. Recommended for the new light it throws on a strange and tragic figure of history who, as one of the English observers wrote, "knew how to govern others but rarely made an effort to control himself."

CITY OF DISCONTENT. By Mark Harris. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.50. A biography of Vachel Lindsay that recreates tenderly the Springfield, Illinois, background of his life and evokes sympathetically the atmosphere of the "confident years" before the First World War that shaped his attitudes. Mr. Harris does not commit himself to a direct evaluation of these attitudes, which he seems largely to share; yet the evocative, nostalgic mood of his book does not altogether gloss over their more than occasional thinness. Nor does Mr. Harris come to very close grips with Lindsay's poetry, but he at least stirs us to a reconsideration of a talent that at its best has not lost its freshness or individuality.

FAR CORNER: A PERSONAL VIEW OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. By Stewart H. Holbrook. Macmillan. $3.75. Frivolous and rather amusing sketches of odd characters, episodes, and places of the Northwest, including a settlement called Pluvius whose sole resident claimed that he had seen it rain there for 362 consecutive days with the other three days "goddam cloudy"; Erickson's bar in Portland which measured 684 feet in length; and the author of "The Story of Opal," that wildly imaginative autobiography which Ellery Sedgwick ran in his *Atlantic Monthly* thirty years ago to the horror of his more conservative readers.

THE REBELLION OF THE HANGED. By B. Traven. Translated from the Spanish. Knopf. $3.50. The hanged are the Indian peasants of Mexico at the time of Madero and Diaz, forced to work out their indebtedness in the steaming jungles, chopping mahogany under almost incredible conditions of privation, misery, and torture. The early chapters, focused on the life of one Indian and his family, are chiseled and austere, but when Traven shifts his attention to a panoramic sweep of the lumber camps, his story, while still mordant and rugged, becomes at once more familiar and less compelling, and it ends in the midst of the workers' bloody revolt as abruptly as if the author had thrown down his pen and walked away from his desk.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE new Marine Stadium at Jones Beach is very handsome, and so is Michael Todd's production of Johann Strauss's "A Night in Venice," as translated and adapted by Ruth and Thomas Martin. It lives up to, probably exceeds, the American standards of spectacle. The scale of the undertaking is indeed so huge—the dimensions of the stage, the number of performers, and the amount of money invested—that its

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very size invites amazement, which is hereby recorded. But the distance from the stage to the nearest spectator is also so huge that the voices must be magnified by a loud speaker, which mechanizes and hardens any voice and introduces at intervals weird and unintended sound effects; and since one can't see lips moving at such distance, identifying the singer became an unscheduled and highly sporting game of the evening.

To continue to sound a note of economy, a word which obviously has no place in Michael Todd's vocabulary, the music is minor Strauss and the humor of the piece is lumbering. The choreography in general is merely pretty; the prima ballerina, Gloria Gilbert, for contrast, is grotesque. She is more acrobat than dancer, and her movements are as unaesthetic as they are prodigious. Rosita Royce and her pigeons are astounding and quite charming. I particularly liked the fireworks at the end of the first act.

Venice as Raoul Pené du Bois reproduces it looks authentic if preternaturally clean. So do the gondolas and the gondoliers. The water tableau rose out of the bay, miraculously, but the aquatic show had to be deferred until another evening, a mishap which forced Mr. Todd to what must have been the painful ordeal of making an apology. He shouldn't take it too hard; even without the aquatic show "A Night in Venice" still rates as "colossal."

IT IS all right to kid the new musical comedy, "Wish You Were Here" (Imperial), for its extravagant scenic effects and noise and highlighted glamour, as most of the critics have done; and perhaps it is fair to compare it sorrowfully with the sentimental and amusing comedy of fifteen years back on which it is based. But for the multitude who never saw "Having Wonderful Time"—recalled by this writer with special affection because of its reference to a "resort ad" in *The Nation*—the Kober-Logan show provides an evening of above-average slapstick humor, an attractive score by Harold Rome, some excellent dancing, and an unusually handsome, spirited company. Leave your nostalgia—and any highbrow yearnings for subtlety—at home and you will have a wonderful time. F. K.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

WRITING last September about Columbia's LP reissues of the early recorded performances of Louis Armstrong, I expressed the hope that Columbia would similarly reissue Bessie Smith's vocal performances with their obbligatos by Armstrong and Joe Smith. And I am happy to be able to report that four LP's are now available with a number of Bessie's performances, beginning with the first one she recorded in 1923, which immediately won her an enormous audience in the Negro public everywhere in the country, and ending with the four she recorded at her last session only ten years later, after this public had acquired other musical tastes and lost interest in her.

The records document the change in the material she sang—from the authentic blues with which she began as a Negro folk singer, to the popular songs and novelty numbers of her later years as a vaudeville entertainer. They also document the succession of jazz musicians who recorded with her—Clarence Williams, the pianist of her first recording of "Down Hearted Blues," Louis Armstrong, Joe Smith, Charlie Green, and others of Fletcher Henderson's band, James P. Johnson, and the group including Jack Teagarden, Chu Berry, and Buck Washington that played at her last session. But they document no change in the magnificent voice and style: the long phrases with their powerful momentums and tensions and wonderful inflections of rhythm and pitch that one hears at the beginning are heard all the way to the end, and exercise their effect in her every performance, no matter of what or with whom. Which doesn't keep one from preferring the performances of the best music with the best instrumentalists; and for me these are the "Cold in Hand Blues," "You've Been a Good Ole Wagon," "Reckless Blues," and "St. Louis Blues" that Bessie recorded with Armstrong in 1925, and the "Baby Doll" and "Lost Your Head Blues" that she recorded with Joe Smith in 1926 (they are merely the outstanding performances among other excellent ones on GL-503 and 505). Smith does some beautifully sensitive trumpet-playing around her singing; and Armstrong produces on muted cornet a progression of delicate, florid, and derisive comment that gets to be hilariously funny.

Columbia also has issued two more recordings of the songs of outstanding musical shows of the past—the George and Ira Gershwin "Girl Crazy" and the Rodgers and Hart "Babes in Arms." The songs are delightful; but Mary Martin's affected singing of some of the ones in "Girl Crazy" reaches the point of grotesque parody of itself in "I'm Bidin' My Time" (the Judy Garland performances of this and a few other songs from "Girl Crazy" issued by Decca a few years ago are excellent). Miss Martin is less affected in her songs from "Babes in Arms"; and the other singers on both records are good.

London, which gave us the superb Vienna State Opera performance of Johann Strauss's "Die Fledermaus," has followed this up with a Vienna State Opera performance of his "Gypsy Baron." The work, though not another "Fledermaus," has some characteristically charming and lovely music; with a couple of exceptions the singers are excellent; and Krauss's conducting is again first-rate. There are some cuts which make the synopsis of the action worse than useless at some points.

Strauss's "One Night in Venice," issued by Columbia, impresses me as being of even lesser stature, though it too has some engaging music. With one exception the Vienna State Opera soloists are good; but in place of the State Opera Orchestra (Philharmonic) there is the

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inferior Vienna [illegible], and Anton Paulik imparts less grace to the performance than Krauss. The text that is provided makes it possible to understand all the words of the songs; but one has almost no idea of where they fit into the complicated plot, and no adequate idea of the plot itself.

One is grateful to Columbia for its records of outstanding hot jazz performances and musical shows of the past; and one is similarly grateful to Simon and Schuster for its "Rodgers and Hart Song Book" ($7.50) with forty-seven examples of one of the great styles of the genre. It is a very special style; and one of its special characteristics, it seems to me, is its appearance of simplicity and innocence. It is the music usually that creates this appearance as one begins to hear it; then, as the phrase rounds itself out with the line of the lyric, one hears the music underscore the witty point of the words and one gets the impact of the unsuspected wicked force behind the dead-pan innocent simplicity. Which amounts to saying that one remarkable thing about the songs is the way the music works with the words. And in at least one superb instance that work has been undone by either the original or present publisher: *"Couldn't sleep . . . and wouldn't sleep . . . Until I could sleep where I shouldn't sleep,"* in "Bewitched" from "Pal Joey," is changed to *"Couldn't sleep . . . and wouldn't sleep . . . When love came and told me I shouldn't sleep."* And the expurgating process extends to omission of the later stanzas.

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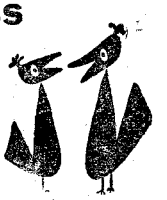

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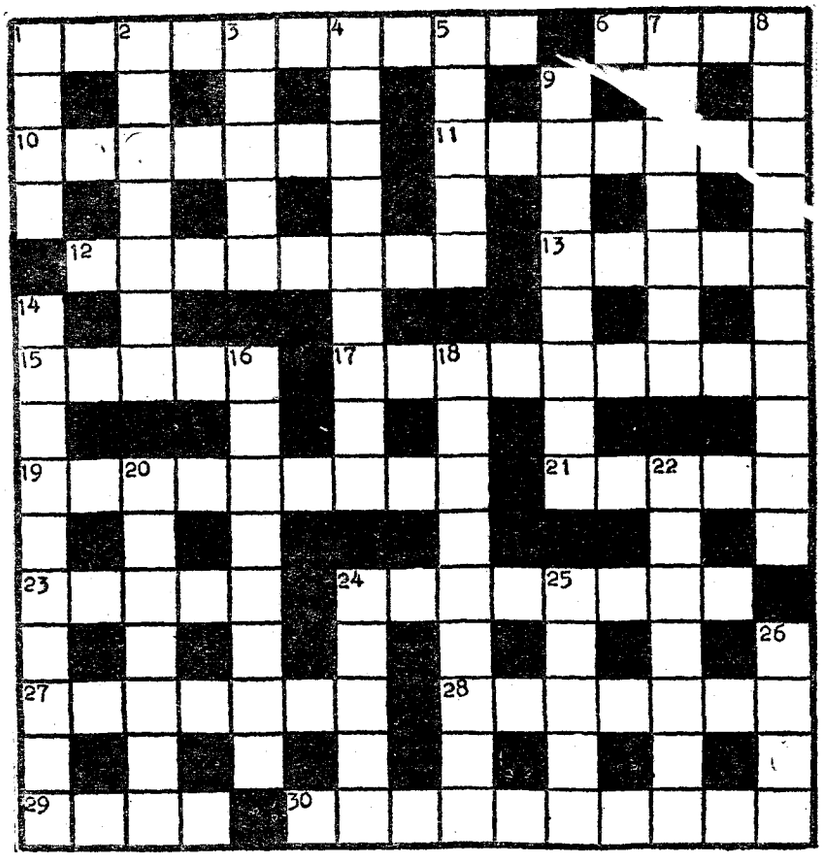
Crossword Puzzle No. 472

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Ida and Pat, with Gilbert and Herbert. (10)
6 and 2 down. A few words to obstructionists, or what the duck presents to the world. (4, 2, 5)
10 Difficult to use? The head and tail of it is spread out. (7)
11 Does he practice, and upon completion remark "well done"? (7)
12 Certainly not a Peeler's badge of office. (5, 3)
13 There's just one little thing wrong, and nothing figures in it. (5)
15 A stroke is cut and cut. (5)
17 One of those times when someone close starts to count. (9)
19 A combination of passages by Daedalus might prove confusing. (9)
21 Not so fast, but almost! (5)
23 Sweet sound of the city of temples. (5)
24 Nothing in the middle of Desire, for example? (Her calling is supposedly music.) (8)
27 The near, near eastern capital. (7)
28 Take aim, stop, and lay it on thick. (7)
29 Acts like shy animals. (4)
30 Preceding a stake with a sort of decent end. (10)

DOWN

1 See 26 down.
2 See 6 across.
3 Time to come back with a drink in it, for a little bit. (5)
4 Any of the genus Ovis might be, and it's gained by degrees. (9)
5 Lift me up to study the seaport. (5)
7 Was he a mat-man? No, a lord. (7)
8 Certainly not a wide cape! (10)
9 Experience is the name everyone gives to his, according to Wilde. (8)
14 Acted solid, but out of place. (10)
16 Invocation in the boat (and useful in the orchard, too). (8)
18 A sort of white rose under different circumstances. (9)
20 Just a has-been in Ireland and Scotland! (7)
22 You might find an under-water propeller being an example of discrimination. (7)
24 Like a round churchman. (5)
25 A slight error of some Finns, by the sound of it. (5)
26 and 1 down. Robbers might be good for the corn! (8)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 471

ACROSS:—1 POWER OF ATTORNEY; 9 VIEWS; 10 CATHEDRAL; 11 RALLIES; 12 NIAGARA; 13 YEARNED; 14 ALLEGRO; 19 and 16 ORDER OF THE BATH; 21 IMPLIED; 23 SLUMBER; 24 KITCHENER; 25 ELLEN; 26 NUTCRACKER SUITE.

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